

SPARTACIST

CANADA February 1982 No. 53

25¢

Defend the Soviet Union! Smash NATO/NORAD!

Cold Warriors Weep for Solidarność



Warsaw,
December 15:
Jaruzelski regime's
countercoup checks
clerical-nationalist
Solidarnosc.

UPI

Ronald Reagan and General Haig are fit to be tied. Last summer Reagan proclaimed that the Polish crisis represented "the beginning of the end" of Communism. And he wasn't speaking as the host of the "General Electric Hour" now; as commander in chief of the most powerful imperialist army in the world, he's prepared to do something about it. In their drive to "roll back" Communism, the Reagan boys are staging provocations around the globe—shooting down Libyan planes over disputed waters, threatening blockades of Cuba and Nicaragua. But Poland was key. With the eruption of the pro-Western anti-

Communist Solidarność, NATO ruling circles saw a historic chance—the best, they said, since World War II—to drive Soviet power back to Russian borders. Liberal commentator Ronald Steel laid out the stakes involved in the Solidarność bid for power:

"Had Solidarity achieved its most sweeping demands, broken the Communist Party's monopoly of power, and taken Poland out of the Warsaw Pact, Soviet control over the rest of East Europe would have been threatened. The other satellites

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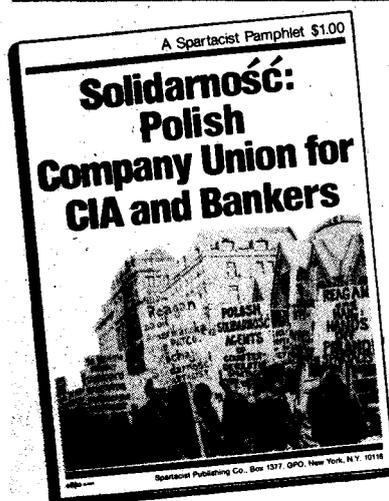
Cold Warriors Weep ...

(continued from page 1)

might have followed suit....The Iron Curtain could have been cracked."

—New York Times, 3 January

Ever since the onset of the Cold War, Western imperialism has aspired to reconquer the Soviet sphere of influence (the East European bureaucratically deformed workers states) diplomatically recognized by the 1945 Yalta Agreement. Now NATO politicians are openly talking about repudiating and reversing Yalta. Meanwhile the Reagan administration has used the bugbear of a "Soviet threat to Poland" in order to gain popular support for a trillion-dollar arms build-up and its nuclear first-



SPARTACIST PAMPHLET

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- Irving Brown: Cold War Criminal
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strike strategy. Aiding (more than \$350,000 via the AFL-CIO alone) and egging on the West's Trojan Horse Solidarność to challenge the Soviets ever more directly, making contingency plans for and repeatedly playing what one administration official called "the Soviet intervention game," the U.S. was doing everything it could to provoke Russian military intervention in Poland.

Now with the crackdown against Solidarność by the Polish army, U.S. imperialism's plans for a "free world" Poland on the Soviet border, or at least of a bloody battle between the Soviet military and the Polish masses, have been greatly frustrated. From Wall Street to the White House, America's ruling class feels frustrated and angry. If the Reagan administration's initial response was "low key," it was only because they had been counting on a Russian takeover and, like Carter over Iran and Afghanistan, they had been caught out (while hiding from alleged Qaddafi hit squads). But under pressure from the right, not least of all from the rabid Cold Warriors of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy, Reagan has revved up the "freedom for Poland" campaign. In his Christmas message the U.S. president denounced the "forces of tyranny" in Poland for denying the "basic right of its people to form free trade unions and to strike."

This from the man who destroyed the air controllers union by firing the *entire membership* for daring to strike! And this is the same "freedom fighter"

who is sending millions of dollars in weapons to the death squads in El Salvador which *every single night* murder at least four times as many people as have been killed in Poland since the beginning of martial law! The same U.S. imperialism which hailed (and helped prepare) the bloody 1973 coup in Chile that murdered 30,000 leftists and which slaughtered more than a million peasants and workers in Vietnam. When Reagan & Co. talk of "free trade unions" they mean what existed under the Hitler-lovers Marshal Ky and General Pinochet.

Under criticism that he was all talk and no action, Reagan resorted to economic sanctions, first against the Poles (canceling LOT airline's landing rights in the U.S., denying fishing rights off Cape Cod, cutting off some food shipments), and then against the Russians (prohibiting export of capital goods for the oil and gas industry and high-technology electronics, suspending Aeroflot landing rights). As long as West Europe and Japan don't follow suit—and they adamantly say they won't—these sanctions will end up hurting American capitalists more than the Russians. The American business community remembers Carter's Afghanistan grain boycott and other "punitive" measures as a case of shooting oneself in the foot. But regardless of the quantitative effect of Reagan's actions, all class-conscious workers must oppose this imperialist economic warfare against the USSR. Down with the anti-Soviet sanctions!

With Allies Like These...

U.S. rulers' attempts to make Poland the *casus belli* of Cold War II have run into resistance and even outright opposition from their West European allies, especially the most powerful one, West Germany. When asked about Bonn's reaction to the Polish crackdown, government spokesman Kurt Becker replied bluntly, "There are no implications for the West. Next question, please." Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's reaction, while visiting East German leader Erich Honecker in the DDR, was to regret that martial law in Poland had been "necessary." And the initial statement on Poland by the Second International, penned by German social-democratic chairman Willy Brandt, refused to condemn the coup. Meanwhile, Schmidt was sitting around on a Florida beach mouthing off against Reagan's sanctions to James Reston of the *New York Times*, long-time confidante of Democratic presidents.

An incensed and bewildered *Wall Street Journal* (4 January) complained that "something powerfully strange is taking place in the German psyche." The *Journal* is right in the sense that the West German masses want no part of Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive. Observers have compared the 350,000 who marched in Bonn last fall against more NATO missiles with the tiny pro-Solidarność protests, the largest of which were about 6,000. There is, in fact, a

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direct connection. As the influential liberal *Der Spiegel* (4 January) editor Rudolf Augstein put it:

"If, however, you hold dear Konrad Adenauer's "rollback," to be accomplished economically and by armaments; if you want to revive the policy of Dulles, which was abandoned by the inventor himself, of driving Soviet power back behind Russian borders; then go to it—if you want the capitulation of your opponent, then you choose war."

The German people do not want to be involved in Reagan's "rollback" war in which *their country* will be the main, and perhaps only, battlefield.

But Schmidt and Brandt are no pacifists, and they are not "patsies for the Russkies" as the reactionary Republican right would have it. German imperialism has a long-term strategy for regaining Prussia and Saxony (East Germany)—not to mention Silesia and East Prussia—and dominating the rest of East Europe, centrally by subverting the region economically and then making a deal with the Kremlin. The hawkish correspondent for the *New York Times* (3 January), John Vinocur, understands the core of Bonn's *Ostpolitik* (Eastern policy) as "the search for a level of continuing accommodation with Moscow that could some day permit German reunification, and the real eradication of the consequences of World War II." German finance capital, having failed to take East Europe and break the USSR militarily in the last war, prefers for now to undermine the Soviet bloc from within.

If the German social democrats have played it very cool over Poland, their French counterparts have sought to whip up anti-Soviet frenzy. So the German social democrats are now anti-Reagan "détenters" while the French social democrats have become pro-Reagan Cold Warriors, challenged on this score only by the Italian Eurocommunists who are gearing up for a definitive break with Moscow. These sharp divisions are dramatic evidence of how the reformists defend and express, above all, the interests of their own bourgeoisie. German capital sees its interests in national reunification and further economic penetration of East Europe; Mitterrand's program is one of protectionism, austerity and anti-Soviet militarism, while serving as the ideological spearhead of "democratic socialist" counterrevolution in the Soviet bloc.

The imperialist bourgeoisie supported Solidarność

as long as it looked like it had a chance of taking power. But now that Walesa looks a loser, some bankers are looking to Moscow to pay Poland's debts. Call it compensation for not winning the big prize in Poland: capitalist counterrevolution. The house organ of international financiers, the *London Economist* (28 December 1981) explained: "Russia now controls Poland again and does not want a Polish default either." Reportedly the Jaruzelski regime has come up with \$350 million in interest payments just in time, and informed opinion thinks it's really Russian gold.

There is nothing new in this. The Soviet Union has long been subsidizing the Polish economy. Since the mid-late-1970s, in fact, Poland has functioned as an intermediary for Western finance capital to extract economic surplus from the Soviet workers and peasants. This is particularly egregious since the standard of living in Moscow and Kiev is distinctly lower than in Warsaw and Gdansk. In 1977, for example, Poles consumed 65 pounds of red meat a year, almost as much as West Germans, while Russians ate only about 50 pounds a year. Yet the Soviet Union has been exporting thousands of tons of meat to Poland in order to keep the Polish masses quiet.

A lot of liberals and radlibs, in order to justify their support to Solidarność, are fabricating the notion that Western bankers are supporting Jaruzelski's crackdown. Cold War liberal James Wechsler, in a column entitled "Bankers' Battle Hymn" in the *New York Post* (23 December 1981), claims there is a cabal of "Western bankers and American Communists and Trotskyists, incongruously united in apologia for the ruthless crackdown by the Polish commissars and their Kremlin sponsors." By Trotskyists he means the Spartacist League and cites the *Workers Vanguard* headline "Solidarność Counterrevolution Checked." Contrary to Wechsler's prediction, the consortium of Western banks holding the Polish debt refused Warsaw's request for an additional loan to cover their interest payments, expecting the Russians would now pay. The *London Economist*, as usual, expressed the policy of imperialist finance: "...a Poland without a free Solidarity is not worth rescuing."

As for the \$27 billion in Polish debt to the West, these loans have been so profitable that many banks would come out ahead even if they got not another

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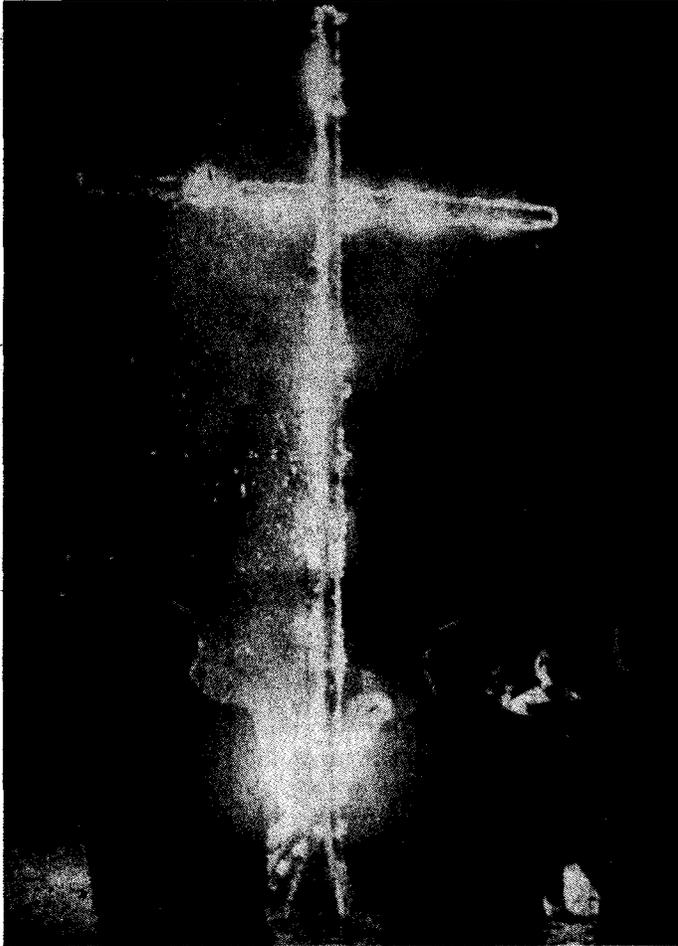
Smash Klan Terror...

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the political climate in which the fascists are growing.

The liberals shrug, "who cares?" It was only a handful of Klansmen, they say. When the Nazis started out in Germany they too were treated as a joke, dismissed and ignored. But when the stench of burning flesh filled the air, when the corpses were piled high, it was too late to fight effectively.

The fascists must be stopped before they can grow. The organized labor movement has the power to sweep these scum from the streets. And Vancouver is a labor town. British Columbia has the most mili-



Deni Eagland Photo

June 9, 1981: Klan terrorists burn cross in Vancouver area.

tant and class-conscious proletariat in English-speaking North America, clearly demonstrated last year in the dramatic phone workers occupation of B.C. Tel offices and the one-day general strike that shut Nanaimo down. Unleashing this power in mobilizations uniting labor, minorities and leftists could stop the fascists dead in their tracks.

The passive response to the rise of the Klan's racist and anti-communist terror—and its corresponding acceptance—reflects the arrogant nationalist attitude that this is "Canada the good," that the KKK is a peculiarly American phenomenon, that "it can't happen here." This is Canada, home of "anti-hate" laws, where Parliament passed a motion condemning the KKK.

Canada: where over 20,000 Japanese-Canadians

were rounded up and dumped in concentration camps, instituted one month earlier than in the U.S., their property and possessions confiscated and sold. Canada: where Native Indians, Japanese, Chinese and East Indians couldn't vote until the late 1940s.

This country was built with the blood of Chinese railroad workers attacked by rioting mobs; of Sikhs left to starve on the *Komagatu Maru*. This is the land where the cops get away with the cold-blooded killings of Albert Johnson and Fred Quilt. The land of racist immigration laws, today welcoming Polish emigrés while deporting East Asians and Jamaicans. Liberal, self-righteous Canada, the "Great White North": virulently racist.

Small wonder that KKK leader David Duke called Canada "the last bastion of white supremacy." The Klan doesn't need to import, they're recruiting "good old" Canadian boys, like the gutter garbage from motorcycle gangs who get their "kicks" from beating up East Asians.

Cold War Fuels Klan Terror!

In the context of the rightward political climate of the imperialists' anti-Soviet war drive these scum have been emboldened to crawl out of their holes and parade openly hooded and robed through the streets of Vancouver. Reagan/Haig, backed by their junior imperialist partners in Ottawa, are out to "rollback" communism abroad; the fascists feel it is open season on leftists, East Asians and labor at home.

They have met no resistance from the labor misleaders in the trade-union bureaucracy and the NDP, who have been the motor force in mobilizing anti-Sovietism and anti-communism at their "solidarity" demonstrations for Poland's company union for the CIA, Solidarność. Acting as the "labor" cover for U.S. as well as Canadian imperialist foreign policy, the labor tops and social democrats have united with right-wing/fascistic East European emigrés under the battle cry "freedom for Poland."

Feeding off renewed Cold War anti-Sovietism former members of the fascist Western Guard now lead the Canadian Anti-Soviet Action Committee. Wearing their "Solidarność" buttons they greeted a CP "peace" demonstration in Toronto October 31 with placards reading "Start World War III!"

This hasn't stopped the bulk of the left from joining in the chorus of pro-Solidarność anti-communism. But even the pro-Kremlin Communist Party cannot catch which way the wind is blowing. When the KKK came knocking at their door the CP dismissed it as a publicity stunt! Their answer to fascist attacks is to appeal to the capitalist government to "Ban the Klan."

This dangerous and illusory strategy leads the CP/USA to call on the KKK's "favorite son" U.S. president Ronald Reagan to "confront the reality of racist oppression" (*Daily World*, 18 December 1981)! In Canada they appeal to Trudeau, who's marching in lockstep with his partners in the White House toward nuclear holocaust against the Soviet Union. At home it's war on labor with the Trudeau government preaching austerity and threatening wage controls as unemployment hits depression-level highs and inflation and usurious interest rates tear the guts out of the working class. They want the man who declared war on Quebec in October, 1970, to "fight the right."

The reason behind the CP's call for "Ban the Klan" lies neither in stupidity, nor ignorance. It is politics.

It's the programmatic extension of their desire for a class-collaborationist alliance with the "progressive bourgeoisie," the policy of the popular front, fundamental to Stalinism since 1936. But the capitalist state is not and cannot be class-neutral, much less "anti-fascist."

Capitalism's decay means that the bosses will direct their main blows at the workers movement, the one social force with the power and clear class interest to smash the capitalist onslaught of depression and war. For this job the bourgeoisie will need armed shock troops of race terror, union-busting and anti-communism. This social garbage sees itself as the concentrated, "strong" version of the racism and union-busting emanating from the highest sources of power. That is why the capitalist government will never "ban the Klan."

The state does have a use for "anti-extremist" laws—not against the fascists but against labor and the left. Does the CP need to wonder who is the natural target for persecution in the midst of an anti-Soviet war drive? Reliance on the bosses' state can have no more success in defending the workers movement and its allies, than detente has had in defending the Soviet Union from imperialist militarism.

At root the CP has no faith in the ability of the working class to mobilize in its own historic interests. The same is true for virtually the entire left who back "Ban the Klan" groups like the B.C. Organization to Fight Racism and the Riverdale Action Committee Against Racism. The crazed pro-Albania Stalinists of the CPC-ML and their People's Front Against Racist and Fascist Violence merely represent the flip side of the same reformist coin. They call on the East Indian community to go it alone against the fascists, all the while joining the virulent anti-Soviet chorus which has spurred the Klan's growth.

For Labor/Minority Mobilizations!

The enormous power of the labor movement must be turned on the fascist bands to crush them in infancy. It can be done! When the domestic reflection of Cold War II exploded in the bloody streets of Greensboro, North Carolina, in the broad daylight KKK/Nazi murder of five anti-Klan trade unionists and leftists, our comrades in the Spartacist League/U.S. organized the only significant working-class

protest. The CP marched with preachers and liberals or did nothing at all. When the Klan threatened to march in the black proletarian center of Detroit, the SL/U.S. and militant, mainly black autoworkers organized a 500-strong counterdemonstration. Not one hooded head showed in the Motor City that day.

In April, 1980, the Nazis said they were going to

No Platform for Fascists!

The labor fakers and social democrats have provided a fertile medium for the growth of fascist terror with their anti-communist anti-Soviet pro-Solidarność crusade. And, their small change liberal/social-democratic understudies who run the University of British Columbia's student newspaper, the *Ubyyssey*, have provided a platform for the fascist scum to spew their racist filth on campus.

The *Ubyyssey* (27 November 1981) printed an interview with the Canadian KKK's tin-pot fuhrer Alex McQuirter, after keeping it under wraps for a month. The Trotskyist League initiated a united-front protest and collected over 130 signatures (including the president of the Chinese Students Association, the coordinator of East Indian Student Affairs, the Director of International House, campus union stewards and student government officials) on a protest letter demanding "No Platform for Fascists!"

On January 6, the TL mobilized 15 students, minorities and unionists to take the protest to a *Ubyyssey* staff meeting. Indignantly squealing that the TL was "disruptive," the self-styled progressives that run the *Ubyyssey* defended their interview with McQuirter as an "expose" of Klan terror. These racist murderers use the media only to organize for genocide. The fascists are *action* groups. Their program is expressed not in words but fired from the barrels of guns.

Two days after the TL protest the *Ubyyssey* printed a death-threat letter entitled "Shoot Commies": "The KKK in Canada have committed no crimes but have been unmercifully attacked by communists...I feel all communists should be shot." This open incitement to fascist terror is an outrage! Covering for the author whose name was "withheld" the *Ubyyssey* is aiding and abetting the Klan and racist, anti-communist reaction.

"celebrate Hitler's birthday" in San Francisco. The SL/U.S. and class-struggle militants in the unions initiated the April 19 Committee Against Nazis, and over 1,200 unionists, Jews, blacks, Chicanos, gays and socialists occupied the site the Nazis had planned to use for their goose-stepping provocation. The CP tried to sabotage (and then boycotted) the rally, but this powerful united-front demonstration, endorsed

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Women and Revolution

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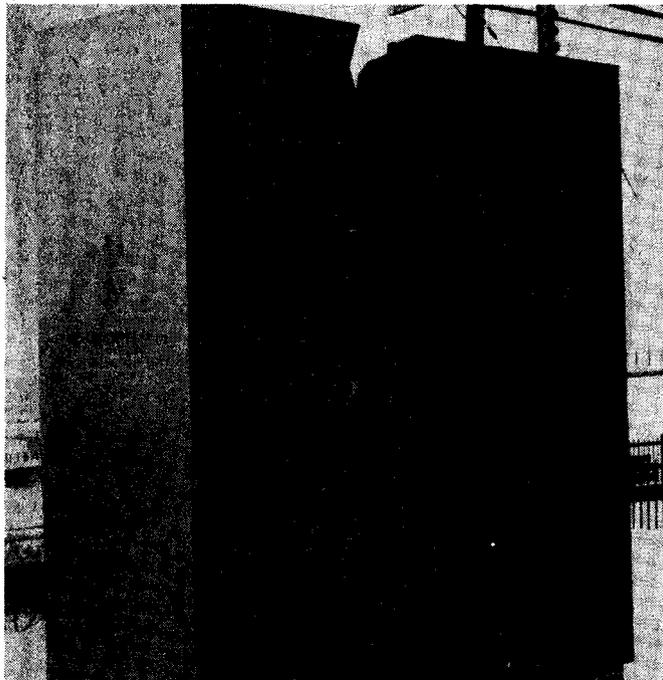
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Cold Warriors Weep ...

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red cent. The *Wall Street Journal* (7 December 1981) admitted: "And some bankers boast privately even were they forced to write off their Polish loans now they might show a profit on their loans to the nation over the past decade, so lucrative have been these deals."



SC Photo

Toronto: Largest standing monument to Katyn Forest, a beacon for anti-Sovietism. Massacre of Pilsudskiite military officers no crime against Polish working class.

It is outrageous that the Polish and Soviet workers should be milked by the profit-hungry bankers of Zurich, Frankfurt and New York. A revolutionary workers government in Warsaw would immediately cancel the imperialist debt. But it is not our task, as a Trotskyist vanguard fighting for proletarian political revolution in the Soviet bloc, to advise the Warsaw bureaucrats, who have ruined the Polish economy, how to get out of the hole they're in. To be sure, should the Stalinists default, all class-conscious workers must defend Poland and the USSR against retaliation by the bloodsucking financiers and their political hirelings.

For Polish Trotskyism

Encouraged by Radio Free Europe and the Polish pope, it was clear that Solidarność was moving to

MARXIST LITERATURE

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overthrow the Warsaw regime and break with the Soviet Union. Jaruzelski's counter-coup came at the last possible moment as a move from a position of power. Secret government-sponsored polls in 1980-81 showed that only 3 percent of the population would vote for the Communists in free elections; another 20 percent for socialists of various sorts, and 43 percent for Christian Democrats—i.e., for capitalist counterrevolution in the name of the pope and (bourgeois) democracy. For those who couldn't see the logic of Solidarity's progression, Solidarność leaders spelled it out in a closed meeting in Radom. The tapes, which have become known as "Radom-gate," stripped off Lech Walesa's mask of a simple trade unionist. More extensive excerpts of these tapes have now appeared in the Western press, including this revealing excerpt from Walesa:

"After all, let us realize that we are bringing this system down. Let us at last realize this. If we agree to have private storekeepers, buy up state farms and ensure complete self-management, this system will cease to exist."

—*Washington Post*, 20 December 1981

The international Spartacist tendency drew the conclusions last September as Solidarność took up the Cold War propaganda themes of "free elections" and "free trade unions" throughout East Europe. "Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution!" before it is too late, we said. And, for now, the power grab by this "company union for the bankers and the CIA" has been blocked. After the initial methodical roundup of Solidarity leaders, the flurry of resistance has died down. The general strike or armed resistance which would have forced a bloody confrontation, hardening the present disastrous lines of division, fortunately did not occur. The immediate danger of counterrevolution has been checked, but the fundamental crisis of Polish society has not been resolved.

The Polish masses are undeniably infatuated with the capitalist West, with American jeans and flags, and German cars. They should know that Poland cannot break from Russia without a major new war which would again mean their ruin. After World War II, the entire country was forcibly transferred 200 miles to the West, taking land which the Germans took 1,000 years to absorb. And the Germans are not generous with their *Lebensraum*. Counterrevolution in Poland would mean a capitalist reunification of Germany, creating a powerful imperialist juggernaut in Central Europe with no room for the Poles,

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except perhaps as agricultural laborers. As the soldiers in those funny helmets start marching east again, Poles would necessarily embrace Russian army boots for protection. Those who think that General Jaruzelski's counter-coup is the same as Nazi, or even Frederick the Great's rule would be brutally disabused of this notion.

It has been reported that some Solidarność militants, and even a few leaders, have been asking, "How did things go so wrong, so fast?" Well, you were against many of the right things, but what were you for? The forms of the movement frequently suggested proletarian political revolution, but tragically the content was dominated by the Catholic church and Western imperialism. The program of Walesa & Co. would have meant disaster for Polish working people. So everything important is learned the hard way, and Poland 1980-81 is no exception. What's needed now is a period of underground re-groupment, a political reckoning with Solidarność. Only the Trotskyist program of ousting the sellout bureaucrats through political revolution, in order to defend and extend the historic gains of socialized property, can show the way forward. A genuine Leninist vanguard of the Polish working class, part of a reborn Fourth International, can be built only through uncompromising struggle against counter-revolution. ■

Smash Klan Terror ...

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by 35 union officials and nine local unions, made sure that the Hitler-lovers didn't dare show, and they haven't been back since.

These two mobilizations, the largest labor actions against the fascists in North America in decades, point the way forward. It's clear that even a fraction of the B.C. labor movement could easily wipe the KKK off the streets. Longshoremen, wood workers, fishermen, teamsters, phone and municipal workers—now is the time to declare in action: "Vancouver is a labor town, not a Klan town!"

The NDP and the labor bureaucrats, however, have been mobilizing not against the fascists, but in defense of the capitalist system. They've rediscovered the picket line not in the fight against the bosses, but down at Vancouver's docks in the service of the Cold War drive. The struggle to smash the fascists

No "Solidarity with Solidarność"

The following motion was introduced at the January 21 meeting of Letter Carriers Union of Canada Local 1 by Audrey Minton:

Whereas: Solidarność, backed by the CIA, the western bankers and the Vatican, was the instrument in U.S. president Ronald Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive aimed at reclaiming the Soviet Union for capitalist exploitation;
Whereas: Solidarność' counterrevolutionary drive to restore capitalism in Poland has been checked by martial law;
Whereas: in Canada the CLC and the NDP are in the front lines attempting to mobilize the labor movement behind the imperialists' war drive, providing office space for Solidarność' North American offices and calling on trade unionists to participate in "Solidarity with Solidarność" demonstrations on January 30;
Therefore be it Resolved; that we condemn the CLC/NDP's anti-Soviet, pro-imperialist demonstrations and that we refuse to participate in these anti-communist, anti-working-class mobilizations; and further that we demand: "NDP/CLC Tops: Hands Off Poland!", "No to Capitalist Restoration in Eastern Europe!", "Defend the Soviet Union!" and "No to anti-Soviet Sanctions!"

and the system that breeds them requires ousting the racist, pro-capitalist labor tops and the political destruction of the hypocritically self-righteous social democracy. The labor movement desperately needs a class-struggle leadership, forged in the struggles of minorities and all the oppressed and fighting for North American socialist revolution which alone can put an end to the fascist filth once and for all. ■

Young Spartacus

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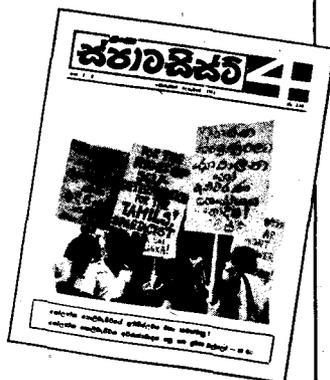
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Labor/Minorities Must Smash Klan Terror!



Workers Vanguard Photo

San Francisco, April 19, 1980: Spartacist League/U.S.-initiated mass labor mobilization stopped the Nazis.

February 6—In an ominous and dangerous provocation to every trade-unionist, minority and leftist in this city, hooded Klansmen roamed the streets of Vancouver February 1, making special visits to left-wing bookstores. Eleven of these murderous scum, six in full regalia, handed out their hate literature in front of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) [CPC-ML] bookstore. Then the fascists marched on the Communist Party's (CP) People's Co-op Books. Here one Klansman drove home the fascists' murderous message, rapping on the window and pointing inside with a fist formed in the shape of a gun.

This is the latest escalation in the dramatic rise of Klan terror in B.C. This summer an East Indian was shot in broad daylight with a needle carrying the message "Compliments from the KKK." On Octo-

ber 17 last year a cross was burned in south Vancouver. Firebombings of East Asians' homes, houses sprayed with shotgun fire, an East Indian beaten to death in a park: racist terror is on the rampage. In the past month Klansmen have paid several visits to leftist bookstores, beating up and hospitalizing a CPC-ML member who attempted to drive them away.

Now these racist creeps go out openly in hoods and robes in a campaign of terror directed against every decent person in Vancouver. But as the Klan grows bolder others look away. There has not been a peep of protest from the labor bureaucrats or their "political arm"—the wretchedly right-wing social democrats of the NDP. But then both the labor tops and the NDP have made ample contribution to fanning the flames of anti-communist, anti-Soviet hysteria,

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